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of which is farmed but, owing to a partial conformance to a three-field system of rotation, not more than half of which is under cultivation in any year. In 1953, 115 hectares were being worked on half-shares. This figure represents 22 per cent of the total area of the reservation, but more than 50 per cent of the amount of land actually in crops that year.

Although this is a land-poor reservation, insofar as much of the farmland is inequitably distributed and there is little common land not yet under cultivation, more residents provide land for other individuals than seek land for themselves.

Of the twenty-six Mapuche households on Alonqueo, twelve are involved in half-share operations. They all provide land to *medieros*. A total of 52 hectares are in share with other Mapuche, some from the same reservation, and 63 hectares are shared with nonresident Chileans. Nine of these families share all the land they hold, and they work it without rest year after year. If it is fertilized, which is generally the case when the *mediero* is a Chilean, the annual returns are greater than those of coresidents who are not working in half-shares and the overwhelming number of whom do not fertilize.

These nine households account for 87 hectares of the total 115 regularly shared. This does not indicate utilization of surplus land in most cases. On the one hand it indicates poverty in production capital (seed, animals, equipment) and on the other it seems to suggest a certain dissatisfaction, usually spoken of as "progressiveness," since those who share with Chileans depart from traditional productive arrangements to profit from a more advanced technology which yields larger harvests.

On reservation Alonqueo, the *mediero* system is not very important with regard to animals. This is apparently because there is a lack of suitable pasturage in relation to the land that is annually put into crops. On the coast, in the region around Toltén, there is a good deal of land available for pasture, and cattle and sheep are importantly involved in the *mediero* system. Of the 565 animals (463 sheep and 102 cattle), only 34 sheep belong to people not living on reservation Alonqueo. As it is, the land is seriously overgrazed and no pasturage is being raised.

Reservation Llancaman: Pelehue Region. The 178 hectares comprising the reservation are not fully utilizable for agriculture under present technological conditions. One hundred eighty-one hectares are under cultivation, part of the remainder serving as pasture land.

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meant that Mapuche society is coming more and more to resemble Chilean society.

Mapuche society has been deeply influenced by reservation living, which is to say that ecological adjustments have had social consequences. But the consequences have served to shore up Mapuche social and cultural integrity. There have been some changes toward an approximation of certain Chilean institutional forms, to be sure. But what are these compared to the reintegration of Mapuche society? Economic change has been sweeping, since all reservations are presently involved in the Chilean system of cash-credit and markets. But how deeply has the reorganization of this aspect of Mapuche economy affected the social structure? What is the measure of its force? How much heat has the impact of two societies engendered, and at what levels of social structure? And how is this heat being dissipated?

The system of kinship and marriage has changed largely as a result of reservation life, but remains quite distinctively Mapuche. The political structure has likewise changed, both with respect to links with Chilean society and internally on the reservations. Religion has changed as well. Residence patterns have changed and, within the context of reservation life, household composition has become modified. But there has been no marked shift in any of these institutions in the direction of Chilean society. Educational services have brought some knowledge of the Spanish language and the Christian religion to the Mapuche, but the Mapuche continue to think in Araucanian and burn offerings to their ancestral gods.

We do find the family household operating in greater isolation from other households than ever before in Mapuche history. But this isolation is relative *only* to agricultural activities, and even then it is by no means complete. Mapuche labor under well-known precepts such as "by the sweat of one's brow" and "not by bread alone," which are largely contradictory directives of social action. A Mapuche farmer desires to eat well, to clothe his family, to live in a well-thatched house. He therefore works with one eye on the market place, and this represents a postreservation change in economic orientation. But his spirit must also be served, and those of his ancestors as well. To this end his other eye observes Mapuche custom (*admapu*). The Mapuche family has been sorted out from its lineal matrix more through the misunderstanding of non-Mapuche than by any adaptations, ecological or otherwise, which have been made during the last three-

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analytically separable segments. As mentioned, I concentrate on the most dramatic of these. This selectivity, however, is by no means wholly arbitrary. Rather, it is a result of analysis, for the areas of morality and its ritual attributes herein discussed appear as those of greatest concern to the Mapuche themselves. I do not claim to have discovered this, as my reference to other works indicates, but I will say that the overwhelming importance of the rituals I discuss for the structure of Mapuche morality became apparent to me only during my analysis of the largely secular institutions of Mapuche society.

Mapuche morality is a kin-based, systematic body of concepts and associated behavior, in spite of certain seeming inconsistencies and discrepancies. How does this moral system, then, support or impinge upon various segments of a larger kingroup, political unit, ritual congregation? In what ways do kinship, politics, ritual action, and religious belief cause groups to precipitate out from total Mapuche society? How are these groups identified? To what extent do they overlap and under what conditions? And lastly, what might be considered certain pervasive features of behavior or belief which permit a general moral system to operate effectively throughout Mapucheland?

The overall impression is that Mapuche morality is a religious morality involving a concept of the opposition of the forces of good and evil. Morality cannot be understood apart from supernatural sanctions and the nature of the continuum between the living and the dead—both authentic and mythical ancestor-gods—in the framework of lineal and congregational (multilineal) units of population. All traditional rights and duties are supernaturally sanctioned, and conflicts, arising mostly from contacts with non-Mapuche, are handled with reference to these traditional moral sanctions.

Customary law (*admapu*) is a fundamentally supernatural concept, sanctioned by supernatural forces emanating from the very ancestors considered to have devised, supplemented, and adhered to the rules of Mapuche society. "We do these things because our ancestors did them and because our fathers and grandfathers told us that they are right." These words are the gist of all answers to the anthropologist's questions about belief

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and customary activity. They reveal the general reason why personal belongings are interred with the dead; why the *filliatufe* lays hold of the palpitating heart of the sacrificed sheep, bites into it, and passes it on to the next in line; why clay or wooden vessels instead of porcelain or enamelware are used in traditional rites; why *chicha* rather than wine should be drunk or poured in libation on certain ceremonial occasions; why preferred marriage is matrilateral; why kinship terms are extended under certain circumstances to Mapuche who are nonkin; why a *kalku* should be executed by the community, then dismembered and burned; why killing a white man is inoffensive to the gods. A detailed consideration of these and other beliefs and actions will show why the single most important integrative force operative in Mapuche society is the moral order which defines *institutionalized* behavior.

If, then, Mapuche morality may be characterized legitimately as a religious morality, just what is the specific nature of the relationship between morality, the supernatural environment, and other aspects of the social structure? What, for example, does Mapuche ritual celebrate, and on what occasions? What is the connection between public ritual, shamanistic performances, and the sorcerer's black art? A partial answer to these questions could be obtained from a cultural analysis of Mapuche values. But a sociological interpretation, stressing social action in the framework of its content, would seem more fruitful, more complete. In any case, that is the course followed here. In this monograph, emphasis is on the sociology of Mapuche morality, although adequate descriptions of Mapuche culture are provided to give content to the social relationships and to make possible a structural analysis of symbolic values.

Mapuche morality involves rights and duties enjoyed and imposed by virtue of membership both in total Mapuche society and in particular segments thereof. The moral fibre which makes conformity to Mapuche customary law desirable as well as compelling—a truly recreative or regenerative force—is continually found as the binding element in public ritual expression and in the total supernatural ambient of the priest, shaman, sorcerer, and layman alike.

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the present matrilateral system, but the change was not effected from one day to the next, nor even in a single decade, with respect to total Mapuche society.

The most significant way in which to consider marriage practices in relation to the total order of society is with respect to the groups regularly involved in sustained relationships. Of most importance here, for the structure of morality, is the fact that many of the groups tied most closely together in marriage also comprise segments of the same ritual congregation, and without doubt the present-day configuration has its basis in the nexus between matrilateral marriage and religious ritual.

The verbalized ideal marriage form in Mapuche society is that of a man with his mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral cross-cousin marriage). Actually, there are few instances in which a man marries a real mother's brother's daughter, but the expression of marriage in these terms may be taken to symbolize the propriety of marriage and the closeness of the units involved. What actually occurs, however, is that a man marries a woman who falls into the classificatory category of *ñuke*, a term used to designate all nubile females of wife-giving patrilineages of which a real mother's brother's daughter is but one. As I have written elsewhere (1961a), there exists a structure of fixed wife-giving and wife-receiving groups throughout Mapucheland, linked by matrilateral preference in a system which precludes the direct exchange of women. I would like to comment further on the relationship of such groups within the general framework of congregationalism and the moral order.

In effect, there is a chain of brother-sister ties linking together a seemingly infinite number of patrilineages, there being systemic limitations on the ramifications of this linkage only from an individual participant's point of view. As an extension of this brother-sister linkage, there are reciprocal sets of rights and obligations which precipitate out in the offspring. The latter forms the area of social relationships in which courtship and marriage and considerations of incest and company are most important.

In Diagram IV schematic arrangement of intermarrying lineages (1–54) and multilineal ritual congregations (I–IV) indicates how marriage units fall with respect to ritual congrega-

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Now, Mapuche ritual values, if one may judge from descriptions in the literature and from definitions in lexicons, have remained relatively unchanged over the years since the establishment of the reservation system, if not for centuries. What then of ritual activity? Simply this, that among the observable changes in ritual action already described, there has been a constancy of the sort I have discussed. Constancy, as I understand it, implies adherence to the thread of Mapuche tradition, expressed both in belief and institutionalized action, a concordance between present-day beliefs and activities and those, for example, described by Latcham, Coñuepan, and others around the turn of the century. I regard this adherence to tradition as constancy because, (1) changes which have occurred represent no significant departure from *admapu* (customary law), and (2) the time depth since the establishment of reservations is sufficient to make judgments about the net effect of infra-structural modifications on continuing social behavior. These are admittedly gross criteria, but they at least establish the grounds for phrasing and testing hypotheses and have relevancy to the material presented in this book.

The vignettes of Mapuche life presented in this study were selected often as contrasts to average, expectable behavior, as exceptions which bring the rules of social action into sharper relief, and were not offered as examples of general accommodation to reservation life. The stories about incest, about dealing with *witranalwe*, about male shamans, and so forth, were intended to underscore the rules of Mapuche society and normal activities, insofar as they represented breaches and uncommon behavior. There would be no need to mention this if it were not for the fact that others before me had cited exceptional behavior, or had generalized individual affective states and responses, in a manner which implied that these aberrancies would serve to indicate and illuminate trends or patterns and so forth. It is of no special importance to the structure of Mapuche society that some men might well prefer to go to town, get drunk, visit a brothel, and do any number of other acts than take part in *ñillatun* or *eworn*. It is of no importance at all unless of statistically significant frequency, analyzable as a pattern variable or some such concept. What is of major importance is that the vast majority of Mapuche do

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178 undertake responsible participation in traditional ceremonies
183 and that they look forward to participating. It is said that nobody
78 goes to town when *ñillatun* or *awn* are held within congregational boundaries.

121 This, again, is admittedly a gross measure, but it seems sufficient for system analysis in a relatively homogeneous society.
178 But it is a tool too dull for the analysis of, say, the subtle
183 psychological currents which might occur in an individual on
78 such occasions. This matter cannot be discussed with authority, however, by any one who is not a trained psychologist and who is not thoroughly familiar with Mapuche society and culture as a total system impinging on the individual. With respect to the Mapuche, how do we know when enough individual responses reflect a cumulative departure from traditional beliefs and practices, when divergence began to be felt in the Mapuche breast, and, therefore, whether a number of similar affective states represent "change" or not, or change of what sort?

771 Let me give an example of this kind of difficulty. A "growing
184 indifference" to traditional rituals has been noted among the
178 Mapuche by anthropologists, missionaries, and lay persons.
793 Ritual responsibilities are said to rest more and more with the
756 shaman or the ritual priest. This judgment is made with respect to younger Mapuche, especially the men, about whom it is also said that there is a strong resistance to Christianity. My early impressions, colored by statements of this sort which I had read and heard, were that the younger generation was in a sort of spiritual limbo. But I have since come to favor another interpretation of this phenomenon, one which is entirely consistent with the Mapuche way of life. This is simply that young and even many middle-aged Mapuche are expected to allow the major ritual responsibilities to rest with the *ñillatufe* and/or the [885] *machi*. This is the system, and it ties in with the notion that a man is not mature until married and forty-ish, after which time he begins to assume ritual responsibility. It is not until one matures that one is permitted to undertake grave ritual responsibility. Youthful "indifference" is not indifference at all, and in
771 any case does not imply change, transition, or breakdown.
184 Rather, this condition is entirely consistent with the rules and
178 dominant motifs of Mapuche culture and society. To under-